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ABSTRACT

Analysis of the characteristics of the teaching task yields a series of four propositions about the organization and administration of public schools. First, the personal orientation of the learner is a central consideration in teaching activity. The task of aiding the learner in his development is transactional and requires privacy for both the teacher and the learner. Second, the position of teacher is neither technical nor professional but must take into account both political and technical considerations. Third, schools must be organized to provide accountability with regard to environmental quality. Fourth, the teacher must be seen as a unique supervisor in the school's authority structure. These propositions are presently in the realm of theory, but research designs are being developed which will test their reasonability. (Author/HMD)

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Toward a Phenomenology of the Teaching Task

by

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I.

In the years since the Brown decision and the sputnik launching schools have been deluged with proposals for sweeping reform. The reforms, however, have been largely, "blunted on the classroom door." (Goodlad: 1969) How much the teachers are to blame for this fact has become a major social policy question in the past few years. Some efforts have been made to by-pass the teachers with so-called "teacher proof" curriculum packages. Others have tried to expand control over the performance of teachers through "accountability" legislation. Perhaps the most promising approach, however, is that taken by the social phenomenologists, like Jackson (1968), Cusick (1970), and Smith and Geoffery (1968), who suggest that the would-be reformers have failed to grasp the essential complexities of the classroom and the basis for its resistance to substantial change.

These phenomenological approaches have been limited by their failure to connect observations on classroom realities to concepts and strategies of administration and management. As a result, they generate feelings of overwhelming and unmanageable complexity

which defy substantial change. This paper seeks to address this problem by pulling together basic analytic concepts from several different sources so as to produce a more dynamic and comprehensive phenomenology of the teaching tasks which are found in the public schools.

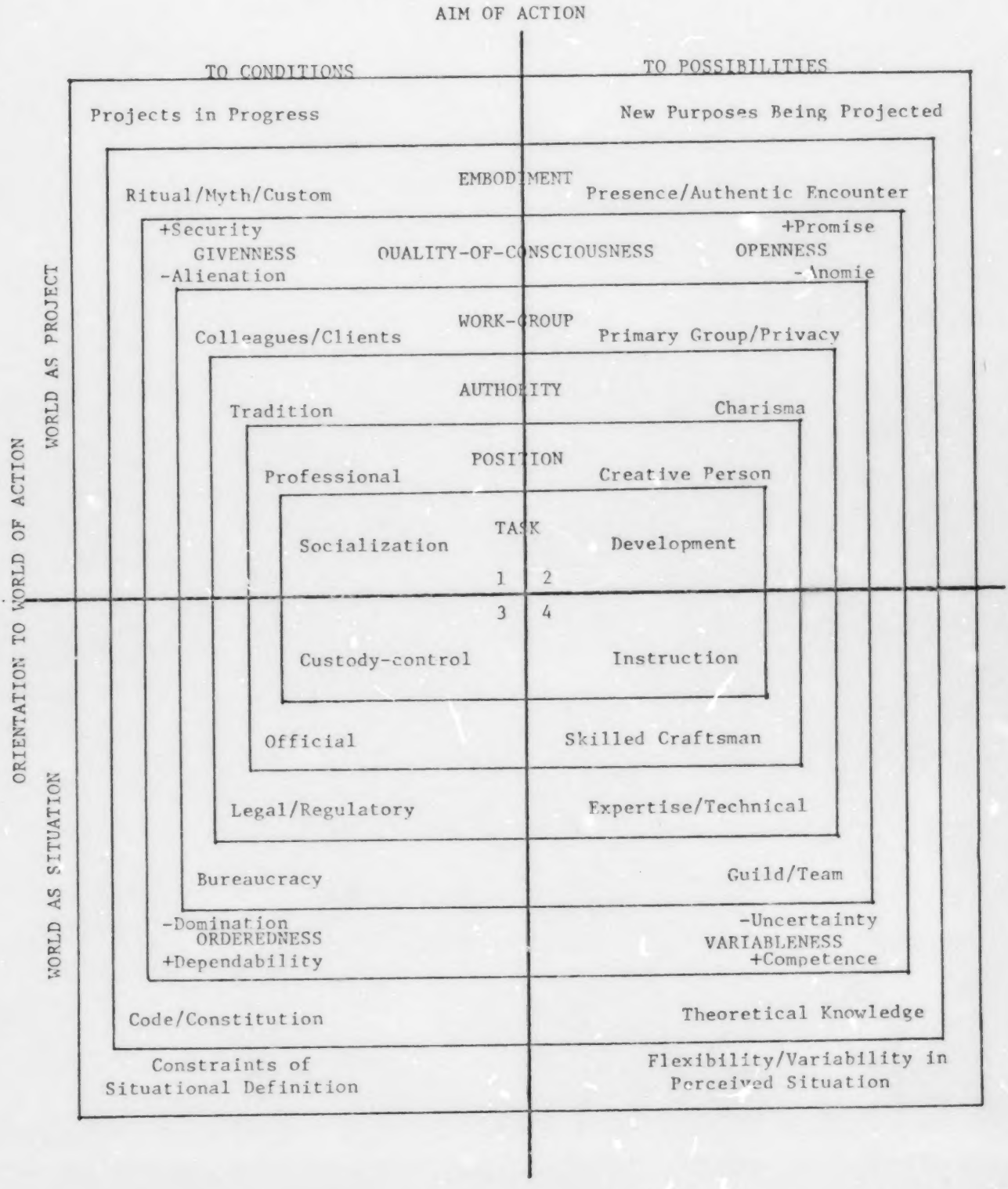
The concepts used in the development of the theoretical model being presented in this paper are drawn primarily from five sources: (1) from W. W. Charters, Jr. who in 1964 proposed that modern organization theory is built on four basic concepts; (2) from William Spady, whose provocative work on the variety of tasks and the modes of authority to be found in school organizations helped to crystallize my previously diffuse ideas into a systematic theory; (3) from the philosophical phenomenologists, like M. Merleau-Ponty (1962), A. Schutz (1967), and G. Winter (1966), whose approach to social analysis has provided the two organizing principles which form the ultimate parameters of this paper; (4) from several analysts of the occupational characteristics of teaching, whose work provides the basic data on what teachers' work is like; and (5) from reflection on a few of the more popular proposals for reforming school programs which seem to illustrate the theory which is being developed here.

This paper is frankly theoretical in focus. Some field work has been started which will eventually lead to testing and clarification of the concepts used here, but that work will not be presented at this point. Instead, some sense of the sorts of research which are anticipated by this theory will be described.

II.

Figure A. presents in graphic form a comprehensive summary view of the analytical concepts dealt with in the rest of this paper. The primary aim of the next several sections is to explicate and justify the use of these concepts for explaining the nature of teaching work as it is organized in the public schools. As can be seen, Figure A. is a combination of a four cell, two-by-two, table, and an "onion" made up of seven conceptual layers. The next four sections (Sections III-VI) will be devoted to building up the first four of the conceptual layers of the onion. Attention will then shift in Section VII to the phenomenological principles which account for the four quadrants of the two-by-two table arrangement, and an expansion of the characteristics of each quadrant to complete the remaining layers of the onion. After the concepts have been explicated, Section VIII is devoted to a very brief discussion of the dynamic character of the theory. Finally, implications for clarification, verification and implication research are sketched somewhat cryptically in Section IX.

Figure A
THEORETICAL MODEL SUMMARY



III. The Public School Tasks

W. W. Charters, Jr. provides us with a list of four fundamental concepts for analyzing formal organizations: "task, position, authority relations and department," or work group. Of these concepts, he says, "The most fundamental of the four is task or job." (1964:243) Charters goes on to develop the meaning of these supporting concepts by saying that,

> Position refers to a grouping of tasks... performed by one individual.
>
> (1964:243)

> Authority relationships specify... who may legitimately initiate action for whom.
>
> (ibid:244)

and,

> The concept of administrative unit or department is built upon the preceding concepts. It refers to the way positions and their associated tasks are assembled under a unitary authority system.
>
> (ibid:244)

The next four sections of this paper are devoted to an exploration of these four concepts in the setting of the public schools, beginning with the concept of task which Charters considers the most fundamental.

Some clarification of the notion of task is needed before trying to specify what the basic public school tasks are. Despite the fact that the focus of this paper is on the work of teachers in the schools, it is not appropriate to try to examine the teaching task in isolation from the learning activity of students. While it is possible to imagine teaching or learning as separate activities, neither taken by itself is sufficient to constitute the school as a

system. It is necessary to consider teaching/learning as a single transactional event, and to acknowledge that the basic tasks of the public school are embodied in this joint or collective transaction involving at least one teacher and one or more students. That is, task analysis in schools must be concerned not just with the phenomenology of teaching (asking "What do teachers do?"), nor just with the phenomenology of learning (asking "what happens when learning takes place?"). Rather task analysis in schools must concern itself with an understanding of those actions which occur whenever the intention of teaching is connected with the response of learning in a teaching/learning event.

There are, as Charters points out, two levels of task in complex organizations: 1) there is the central work itself--(teaching/learning in the schools) and 2) as Charters puts it,

> In any enterprise, some energy must be diverted from the central work itself to activities which enable work operations to proceed. We call these overhead activities...organization maintenance...
> 1964:251

The term "organization maintenance" seems a bit misleading as a label for these activities. They might just as well be preparation for, or pre-requisite to, the performance of the central work itself, and hence should not be thought of in terms of energy diversion or overhead. Such a conceptualization leads one to believe that energy devoted to these tasks is always wasted or inefficient energy. Charters' basic idea is, nevertheless, a useful and important one.

What we are looking for, then, in the analysis of public school tasks, is a description of those activities which prepare for or maintain the teaching/learning transactions, and those activities which are central to the operation of the teaching/learning event itself.

In a recent paper, William Spady has opened-up a useful approach to this inquiry. Grasping the necessity for both supporting and implementing tasks, Spady complains that there is an inadequacy in the conceptualization of would-be curriculum reforms which narrowly construe the school task as essentially "instructional." Spady claims that,

> ...instruction is only one of the schools' several functions and is therefore shaped and affected by the character of competing demands on staff attention and time.
>
> 1973a:2

Spady goes on in this paper to list a total of five school tasks which he deems to be fundamental, including: 1) instruction, 2) socialization, 3) custody-control, 4) selection, and 5) certification.

Because he has focused on the function of the school, rather than on the tasks of the teacher, Spady has, I think, mixed in his list tasks which are performed in the teaching/learning transactional process and functions which are embodied in the school as a system. As a result, the items in his list are of two quite different qualities. The tasks which he calls instruction, socialization, and custody-control are significantly different from the functions which he calls certification and selection. The difference lies in the fact that certification and selection take place as a result of, and

not during the performance of the other tasks, while all of the other tasks must be performed simultaneously. Certification, as Spady uses the term, is the process by which schools express the extent to which success is experienced (or at least claimed) in the performance of the first three tasks, and selection, as a task, is actually performed largely by non-school (or higher school) organizations as they interface with the schools. Selection is based on both the school's certification of its own success and on the selecting agency's independent assessment of the school's success in performing the more basic tasks of instruction, socialization and custody-control. Hence, so far as the classroom teaching/learning tasks are concerned we can eliminate selection and certification from the list of basic tasks.

Having argued that Spady includes more than the teacher's basic tasks in his list, let me also suggest that his list is incomplete. There is one basic teaching responsibility which is missing from Spady's list. It has been widely acknowledged by school analysts that the teacher has a responsibility for the quality of life in the classroom. Teachers are presumed to have the capacity and responsibility for making the classroom a place which is "exciting," "involving," "engrossing," "inviting," or simply a lively place where students can develop and express their own lives, self-concepts, and purposes. Let me call this the developmental task for purposes of this paper and explore it more fully below.

To summarize, I am suggesting that we can conceptualize the teacher's basic tasks as a participant in the teaching/learning

event under four headings: (1) Instruction, (2) Socialization, (3) Custody-control, and (4) Development. Furthermore, as we shall see in a moment, two of these tasks (custody-control and development) are at the more basic preparation or maintenance level, while the other two (instruction and socialization) constitute the central work of creating teaching/learning events. A fuller development of each of these tasks is pursued in the following paragraphs.

A. Teaching as a Custody-control Task

Spady puts the custody-control task this way,

> One inescapable feature of... schools involves the custody-control function of staff vis-a-vis students.... Western societies have imposed on youngsters the legal obligation to attend school.... This legal obligation has affected ....the school by accentuating power differences between teachers and students....the tensions and pressures that arise from this inherent state of conflict have serious repercussions on both the instructional and socialization processes in the school.
>
> 1973a:4

Robert Dreeben indicates the significance of this task by saying that,

> It is not facetious to draw certain parallels between the circumstances of pupils in schools and inmates in prison as long as one is entirely aware of the differences.... Teachers, like prison guards, may allow their authority to be subverted in the attempt to preserve their authority when neither coersion nor conventional inducements work.... The issue here is....how a teacher maintains order--classrooms cannot proceed in the midst of chaos--among many children, with at times inadequate inducements....
>
> 1973:459

While Spady focuses more on custody and Dreeben more on control of chaotic conditions, the essential element of this teaching task is the responsibility of the teacher to produce orderly con-

duct in a situation in which chaos is both often present and frequently caused by forces originating outside the classroom itself. This custody-control aspect of teacher responsibility is seen as more fundamental than the instructional or socialization tasks, in that these latter tasks cannot be undertaken until the custody-control task is at least partially handled.

Dan Lortie concurs in this judgment that other teaching tasks must come after custody-control has been accomplished, at least to some extent. He says that,

> The ability to control the class is the sine qua non of standing in the group, for without it no instruction can occur.
>
> 1961:11, 12

The distinction between custody-control in school and that alluded to by Dreeben in prisons lies in the complexity of the school. Prisons traditionally have been viewed as at least minimally adequate if they succeeed in maintaining inmate custody-control. Schools, however, must do more. The custody-control task is a necessary but certainly not a sufficient task for the teacher if he is to be viewed as adequately performing his job (though in some schools, as Kohl suggests, satisfactory custody-control alone may enable teachers to not only retain their jobs, but also be promoted to supervisory responsibilities).

Pellegrin tells us that there is a marked tendency for schools to give priority to the custody-control task, quoting Eddy to the effect that,

> "Within the classroom, the importance of maintaining order and adult authority is viewed as crucial to the teacher."
>
> (Pellegrin, 1971:34)

And Spady (1973b:23) identifies the custody-control task as the most fundamental, and sees it as the fall-back task for incompetent teachers who are unable to achieve the higher level mission of instruction in his relationship to students. A competent teacher, in Spady's view, does not abandon custody-control, he gets it well in hand and then proceeds to the higher order tasks.

B. Teaching as a Developmental Task.

The need for classroom order which is embodied in the custody-control task is co-equal with the need for classroom excitement and involvement which provides for the student the basic dynamic tension in the teaching/learning process. The teacher must create this tension in the classroom by giving the students the sense that their own development will be enhanced if they participate in the teaching/learning transactional process.

Herbert Kohl presents the essential feel of this developmental task when he says that,

> . . . I gradually found ways of teaching that were not based on compulsion but on participation; not on grades or tests or curriculum, but on pursuing what interested children.
>
> (1969:14)

And Kathleen Devaney captures this same sense of task when she quotes David Hawkins to the effect that,

> "Until the child is going on his own. . . . thinking his own thoughts and making his own unique individual kinds of self expression out of them, there isn't anything for the

> teacher to respect, except a potentiality. So the first act in teaching, it seems to me, ... is to encourage this kind of engrossment. Then the child comes alive for the teacher as well as the teacher for the child."
>
> (Devaney, 1973:7)

In this passage Hawkins stresses not only the task character of bringing the classroom to life, he also sees this task as a pre-condition for getting the instructional tasks underway.

Devaney lists this developmental task as high among the special emphasis of the so-called "open education" movement, saying that, in the open classroom,

> The teacher does not merely set out lumps of content or skills to be mastered by students, either as a group or individually. She also (or mostly) leads and encourages them to be aware of things and happenings around them as sources of information, to express and combine ideas, to test how things work, to solve problems.
>
> (1973:3)

and that,

> . . . . open education implies. . . . the teacher. . . . inviting and respecting decisions made by children. . . .
>
> (1973:7)

Clark Moustakas suggests that the developmental task makes special demands on teachers, saying that,

> The home and the school may contribute to the development of creative individuality and genuine relatedness. . . .
>
> (1966:13)

and that,

> The authentic teacher recognized the uniqueness of the learner and confirms him as an individual self; makes

> the classroom a place for open, genuine human relations; presents material which is vital to his own growing self and in the process initiates new experience, awareness, and sensitivity, for himself and for the child; encounters the child in meaningful activity whether in conflict or harmony; and perceives the classroom as a human relations laboratory where authentic life emerges through respect for differences, cherishing of the child as a person, and permitting opportunities for honest expression of feelings and expansion of self through meaningful, self-chosen interests and activities.
>
> (1966:18)

The developmental task embodies teaching undertaken with an unknown end. While students may confront various developmental tasks which specify the form of the teaching problem, the effort to recognize each child as a unique human being means that there is one aspect of his development in which the teacher must be responsive to the child's lead and must organize the teaching activity in response to the question, "What is this child working on right now and how can I help?" This teaching task assumes that children will project their own intentions; that they will be curious, playful, and interested in their own development. In the pursuit of this task the teacher assumes that openness, not control, is problematic in the classroom environment. From the perspective of this task, discipline emerges as a problem due to the organization of the school, because organizational needs interfere with the natural motives and discipline of children who would otherwise naturally discipline their behavior in order to achieve their own goals.

C. Teaching as a Socialization Task.

If custody-control and development are the classroom foundation tasks, the real work of teaching is embodied in the socializa-

tion and instructional tasks. According to Spady,

> Socialization, broadly conceived, is the process of developing in persons those attitudes, beliefs, expectations, values, and capacities that are necessary for the successful and compatable performance of social roles in specified social systems. . . . preparing youngsters for life as adults. . . . the development of elaborate belief, expectation, and behavior codes that characterize "normal" or "appropriate" behavior in the occupational and social world of adults.
>
> (1973a:3)

Pellegrin underscores the character of the socialization task, saying,

> . . . . teaching does not merely involve imparting objective knowledge to students; there is, in addition, the important matter of socializing children into "approved" value orientations and behavior patterns.
>
> (1971:11)

There are three significant elements in these two descriptions of the teacher's socialization responsibilities: 1) the adult world is taken as given and thus socialization tasks have a known end toward which they point, 2) socialization seeks to produce in the child a capacity for participation in the given social world of adults, not merely an acceptance of it as a fact, and 3) the adult world toward which socialization moves the child exists outside the classroom and is borne into the classroom environment by the teacher who represents and re-creates the adult world expectations for the child and seeks to induce in him a capacity to live within those expectations. That is to say, ideally the teacher disappears as an element of the adult world and becomes rather a transparent and neutral bearer of that world.

As Katz has demonstrated, it is the socialization task of the school which is the basis for its compulsory and aggregated char-

acter. The problems of discipline created by trying to school a crowd of children in a relatively small space provide just those socialization needs which were valued by the 19th century proponents of mass, compulsory, free education. And it is just this situation in which the re-capitulation of the adult culture is a meaningful and difficult task. Waller (1932) saw this problem clearly, and saw social discipline as the central reality in the schools.

D. Teaching as an Instructional Task.

The instructional process is the most widely studied and the most theoretically complete aspect of the teaching/learning process. Instruction, much more than the other teaching tasks, presents itself as a potentially "scientific" task, even though, as Jackson reminds us, this scientific attitude tends to be more important to university researchers than to classroom teachers who must respond to the overwhelming immediacy and vividness of the lived-moment in the classroom.

Spady defines the instructional task, saying that,

> ....the instructional function of the school involves the systematic attempt to increase the information base and improve the cognitive and physical skills of students .... Despite the centrality of this function in the school's attempt to provide youngsters with the capacities believed necessary for performing adequately as adults, it is only part of the larger socialization mission of the school.
>
> (1973a:2, 3)

Dreeben (1973) refers to the central classroom activities as "instruction" and "classroom management." The latter sounds rather like the combination of the custody-control and developmental tasks

outlined above. And Charters spells out his version of the teacher's basic responsibilities by saying that,

> The central task performed in the school, then, consists first in arranging sets of events from which learning is expected to occur and second in inducing pupils to expose themselves to the events.
>
> (1964:248)

References to the centrality of the instructional task in schools could be multiplied endlessly, there is virtually no dissent from the conception of the schools as places where instruction takes place. Philip Jackson provides the closest we will find to a dissenting voice when he suggests, more in dismay than in doubt, that,

> ....we are led to wonder whether the teacher's primary concern is learning at all.
>
> (1968:161)

But this remark only reminds us that the instructional task comes after the two more basic requirements of providing a classroom situation in which the tasks of custody-control and development are already underway, at least to the extent that the student experiences the classroom as ordered rather than chaotic and as involving rather than alienating. Instruction and socialization may be what teachers do, but custody-control and development must characterize what the classroom is. The most basic element of the teacher's task is to create for the child a "tension of existence" in which the classroom constraints on his behavior are also experienced as the basis for opening up possibilities for the fulfillment of his own life purposes.

IV. Authority Relationships and Teaching Tasks

It will be easier to present a theory of the teacher's position within the school organization if we first consider the question of the authority relationships within which he works, hence we turn next to Charters' third basic concept in the analysis of formal organizations.

Spady has made a brilliant contribution to the clarification of the meaning of authority in the school organization. By returning to Max Weber's classic treatment of the modes of authority in human relationships, and showing that Weber's hyphenated "rational-legal" mode represents the amalgamation of two separate forms of authority (the rational and the legal), Spady presents us with four legitimate authority modes: traditional, charismatic, legal and rational or expert. Spady sees these four modes of authority as expressing the combinations of two more basic principles of human action and thus displays the modes of a two-by-two matrix which is reproduced in figure B. below.

Figure B

WILLIAM SPADY'S AUTHORITY MODES

Normative Dimension	Socio-Structural Dimension: Institutional	Socio-Structural Dimension: Personal
Mystical, Emotional	Traditional	Charismatic
Secular, Rational	Legal	Expert

Spady insists that legitimate authority is absolutely required for the operation of schools (or any other organized action system for that matter) if they are not to degenerate into increasingly coercive institutions in which the custody-control task completely absorbs the energy of all the participants, and he examines the relationships between the authority modes and the character of the teaching tasks. I do not find his arrangement of the authority modes to be properly grounded, but I will return to the question of basic principles later, after examining in greater detail the matter of the congruency between task performance and authority exercise. It can, I think, be shown that each authority mode is peculiarly suited to the performance of one of the four basic teaching tasks.

A. Legal Authority: The foundation of the Custody-control Task.

Spady explains that,

> . . . . <u>legal</u> <u>authority</u> depends on one's allegiance to codified sets of social arrangements. . . .
>
> (1973b:8)

People who administer the laws and regulations of "codified sets of social arrangements" tend to become "authorities" through a halo-effect which surrounds the operation of law interpretation and enforcement. A person who is in an official position is presumed to have an authoritative grasp on the requirements which a code of laws or regulations make on everyone's behavior. The halo-effect is probably the result of the fact that each individual needs help in understanding just what constraints on his

behavior are required by the law, and looks for help from someone who is "in the know" and able to specify what the law requires. The person who is in a position to administer the law not only has a great deal of knowledge about the law, his interpretation of the meaning of the law also constitutes the operational meaning of "what the law requires."

In this connection, Spady reminds us that there is both a general and a particular level to the operation of authority. We may believe in and respond to the "rule of law" in general but still reject any particular law or any particular official's effort to enforce the law, even though officials will generally be granted a presumption of authority by most people.

The authority of laws and regulations lies at the base of the teacher's custodial tasks. The in loco parentis doctrine has been interpreted by the courts as giving teachers the legal authority to engage not only in rudimentary custodial activity, but also to use that authority in an expansive way to produce whatever quality of classroom order is necessary to support the other teaching tasks.

The operant conditioning psychologies which support the "behavioral modification" movement in teaching provide a powerful second meaning to "legal" or "regulative" authority. According to these psychologies, there is a "lawful" (in the scientific sense) connection between teacher behavior and the control of student behavior in the classroom. This law of contingency control brings the students into compliance with the teacher's wishes by establishing an "order" in the classroom which enables students

to maximize their own reinforcement by controlling their behavior. In this meaning regulative authority is created by natural rather than positive law but the halo of teacher authority which surrounds one who is the officer of law enforcement is of the same basic quality. This fact, incidentally, reveals why "behavior modification" curriculum proposals always give major emphasis to the custody-control task of eliminating disruptive, distracting, or undesired behavior from students' repertoire; and explains why "instruction" for the behavior modification theorists is always reduced to a matter of controlling behavior through teacher sanctioning.

B. Charismatic Authority: Resource for the Developmental Task.

Spady asserts that,

> Charisma is usually associated with a great sense of mission, determination, and volitility, and its strength depends on the congruence between the mission being undertaken and the needs of people being served. The Charismatic leader....must be recognized as relevant and beneficial to his constituents.
>
> (1973b:6)

The emphasis in these remarks is too much focused on the charismatic authority's response to his followers. It is more frequently the case that the followers of a charismatic leader only recognize their "needs" in relationship to the authority figure. Spady's problem here is his reliance on a need-psychology. A gestalt or social field psychology would enable us to recognize that charisma does as much to create as to respond to people's needs. The needs which Spady imagines charisma responding to are created in the fol-

lower as the charismatic leader grasps and reveals to him the new possibilities for expressing his intentions in new life-projects.

Turning his attention to the teacher's use of charismatic authority, Spady argues that,

> Perhaps the most important component of the teacher's repertory of abilities....is the capacity to establish a sense of rapport with students by caring about them as individuals in order to aid them in developing a sense of security and confidence.
>
> (1973b:19)

and that,

> ....the authority base of the classroom is legitimated by both charisma and expertise.
>
> (1973b:22)

Again, Spady's need-psychology weakens his conceptualization here. Charismatic authority does not merely provide the students with emotional "security and confidence." Rather it is a basic element in the social processes by which human beings set their lives in motion by helping give substance to their intentions and purposes. The mystical quality of a charismatic leader arises, in part at least, from the way in which he seems to grasp--before others do-- the emergent possibilities for human fulfillment, and shapes first his own, and then his follower's, life into a project for the attainment of those possibilities.

From my perspective, the most refreshing and important aspect of Spady's work on authority is his insistence that a personal relationship between the teacher to his students is a sine-qua-non of a non-coersive classroom. He shows that the loss of this personal dimension leads to an emphasis on the custody-control task in the classroom. In this way Spady supports not only the

argument that charismatic authority is connected with what I have called the developmental task, but also the thesis that the teacher's socialization and instructional tasks must rest on the foundation of a creative "tension of existence" in the classroom whereby students experience both the organizing and constraining authority of regulation or law and the creative, open, and dynamic authority of charismatic presence in the classroom.

C. Traditional Authority: Resource for the Socialization Task.

Spady tells us that,

> Traditional authority primarily rests on a legitimacy base that has its roots in strong attachments and reverence for established customs and institutions. Authority is legitimated by the sanctity of tradition when the present social order is viewed as sacred, eternal, and inviolable. In effect, social arrangements are treated as given and are honored on the basis of their having endured for generations.... This authority mode clearly tends to perpetuate the existing social order and encourages a resistance to innovation and social change.
>
> (1973b:7)

I think there is too much emphasis on the "endured for generations" aspect of traditional authority here, and perhaps a little too strong a flavor of the social order being viewed as "sacred." After all, we have all been in situations in which a "traditional" pattern of action has sprung up in a matter of weeks or months.

The essential element of traditional authority is that action is held to be appropriate or justified when it reflects "the way things are done" in an established enterprise of some sort. It is just this sense of the legitimacy of the ongoing cultural project which empowers the professional teacher to engage in the socialization tasks required of the school. Because there is an established,

more or less enduring, adult culture both the child and the teacher know that the teacher has a responsibility to prepare the child to live in that cultural world.

It is not, I think, accidental that a deep suspicion of the teachers' socializing efforts is felt most keenly by those who find that the schools are not preparing them, or their children, to participate freely and fully in a proper and humane adult culture--either because they find the schools unable to break down racial and ethnic barriers or because they see social and cultural change in the adult world making the schools' efforts obsolescent even as they are being activated.

D. Expertise or Technical Authority: Resource for the Instructional Task.

Spady suggests that,

> ... expert authority depends on a strong respect for the demonstrated competence and technical resources of individuals regardless of their formal status in the social structure.
>
> (1973b:8)

The phrase "demonstrated competence" in this description is a most difficult one. If the competence must in fact be always demonstrated then the concept of authority in this area is superfluous. The concept of authority applies only in situations where we expect that another person's behavior will have important and valued consequences for us. Once the other person acts we can evaluate the results and not his personal characteristics. When we say that a person is an authoritative expert we mean that we anticipate that he will be able to demonstrate competence when the need arises. This anticipation of competence rests on two factors: 1) a sense

that the area of expertise in question is indeed a technical matter--that is a matter of the manipulation of known (or at least knowable) variables to produce a predictable outcome, and 2) a sense that the authoritative expert in question has both an understanding of the variables and a capacity to manipulate them to produce the desired results.

Clearly a person could be presumed to be an expert if he could vividly describe the relevant variables and could suggest how they might be manipulated. This tendency to presume authoritative expertise is one source of the con-man's power. It is also one reason why teachers are certificated as experts on the basis of university experiences which may have little to do with demonstrations of competence.

As Spady suggests, the basic elements of expertise for the teacher are the knowledge and control of pedagogical and subject-matter variables. And as Dreeben well argues, it is in this area that the teaching occupation is especially weak--unable to clearly specify connections between subject-matter and pedagogical variables and student learning responses. Nevertheless, instruction is the teaching task which demands expertise or technical authority and which will not respond to any approach which does not at least present a reasonable claim to be based on technical know-how.

To summarize, we have been building an analysis of the teaching/learning process by applying the list of basic analytic concepts suggested by Charters to the specific school setting. So far, we have considered the matters of task and authority, and

our findings are summarized in Figure C. below:

Figure C

Charters' Concepts	Application to Schools			
1. TASK	Custody/control	Development	Socialization	Instruction
2. POSITION				
3. AUTHORITY	Legal/regulative	Charismatic	Traditional	Expert/ technical
4. WORK-GROUP				

V. Teaching as an Organizational Position

We now turn to the matter of teaching as an organizational position. We have, of course, been discussing the tasks which are performed by the individuals in a school system who occupy the position called the "teacher," and we have identified the mode of authority which best facilitates the performance of each of these tasks. The designation "teacher" does not, however, settle the nature of the position under consideration. In fact, the literature on the teaching occupation is filled with efforts to classify teaching among the various types of positions characteristically found in complex organizations.

Robert Caughlin did some work on the ways in which the position "teacher" is conceptually several different positions depending on the work values and work styles of the people who actually hold the title "teacher." He suggested that,

> ...certain teachers might choose to identify themselves with the ethos of professionalism or emulate professionally-oriented teachers who epitomize their dominant values and career orientation. Other teachers might choose to identify themselves with the values and goals of bureaucracy and/or to emulate successful bureaucratic administrators. Finally, low status teachers might choose to identify themselves with their immediate work group and its informal norms for be-

> havior as they strive for good group membership, popularity, and acceptance by high status teachers in the school.
>
> (1969:55)

Although Caughlin's findings were limited by his theoretical orientation, he has demonstrated that individual teachers do indeed turn their positions in the school system into essentially different positions as a result of the way they think about and approach their tasks. It seems promising, therefore, to hypothesize that there is a characteristic way of occupying the teacher position which is associated with, and which facilitates the handling of, each of the four basic teaching/learning tasks.

A. The teacher as Officer: Facilitating the Custody-control Task.

If we were to ask what sort of position would be occupied by a person if he relied on legal/regulative authority to facilitate a custody-control task the answer would be vivid and immediate: such a person would be an officer of the law or an official of the organization.

Herbert Kohl presents this aspect of the teacher's position in graphic personal terms:

> The structure of authority in my school was clear: the principal was at the top and the students were at the bottom. Somewhere in the middle was the teacher, whose role it was to impose orders from textbooks or supervisors upon the students.
>
> (1969:11)

Lortie, similarly insists that,

> It is clear that, given their organizational context, teachers must invent and enforce rules. . . .
>
> (1973:491)

and Dreeben explains why this is so:

> Classrooms, where conscripted children are gathered in confined spaces over long spans of time, engender problems of compliance and order for teachers.
>
> (1973:463)

Despite Lortie's insistance that we are gradually coming, "to see the descriptive limits of the concept bureaucracy" (1973:494) it is in terms of the legal/regulative authority and the custodial task of the schools that, in Pellegrin's words, the school, "embodies certain primary bureaucratic characteristics." (1971:18)

The teacher is an officer in the school's bureaucratic structure. The official task of the teacher is to give order to the otherwise chaotic classroom. To do so he must make rules and fairly enforce both his own and those given to him from higher levels in the bureaucracy. This official task springs from the organizational characteristics of the school, particularly the conscript status of the students. By having an official bureaucratic position, the teacher acquires both the responsibility for, and the authority to, impose custodial controls on the students in his charge.

B. The Teacher as Creative Person: Facilitating the Developmental Task.

Natalicio and Hereford insist that,

> Often the person a teacher is, the qualities that give him his individuality, ... determines his effectiveness. When a teacher interacts with students, he interacts primarily as a person and only secondarily in his role as a teacher.
>
> (1971:ix)

For many observers of teaching/learning this personalized style is a problem rather than an asset in the performance of the teaching tasks, and has lead to efforts to develop such things as the

so-called "teacher proof" curriculum packages. The analysis I have been developing here, however, would argue that teaching as a developmental task requires just this sort of intensely personalized encounter between teacher and student. In order to help the student open-up possibilities in his own life-projects, the teacher will have to abandon all role structuring to his own behavior. The developmental teacher must respond not to the "expectations" associated with role definitions, but rather must focus his complete and undivided attention upon the "lived-moment" of the student. Howard Becker has grasped something of this matter when he claims (in another context) that the phenomenon of "involvement" in a task or project makes one inaccessible to the imposition of "expectations" for conformity to roles.

Teacher involvement in the developmental task is qualitatively different from the professional activity of a clinical psychologist. As Philip Jackson points out,

> . . . a chief difference between the clinician and the teacher is that the former is principally concerned with pathology, whereas the latter is principally concerned with normality. . . . If the teacher were totally to adopt the clinician's view he would be lead to concentrate on issues that are commonly at the periphery of his concern.
>
> (1968:170)

Unlike development, psychotherapy proceeds with a definite end-in-mind. The therapist seeks the re-storation of the client to functional participation in the society. Thus, therapy is a genuinely professional activity. Teaching, in its developmental aspect, however, has only the human encounter with the student in mind, and trusts that this authentic encounter will produce for the nor-

mal child some creative "tension of existence," some urge to become more than he now is.

Kathleen Devaney calls for the maximization of developmental teaching, insisting that,

> Even the ideosyncratic, star-performer teacher, who is not ruled by textbook or curriculum and is acclaimed for her highly personalized style, is traditional. . . . if she fails to consider children's choices as well as her own judgment.
>
> (1973:7)

Since the developmental task, which relies on charismatic authority for its dynamic, requires this abandonment of role structured behavior, it is hard to describe it as the responsibility of some particular sort of position (since that term is normally a role structure concept). It is, however, possible to describe the way the charismatic teacher is experienced by his students. The student experience is of a creative personal presence in the classroom, and thus we might call the position associated with this task that of a creative person, to express this non-role structured aspect of the teacher's organizational position.

C. The Teacher as Professional: Facilitating the Socialization Task.

Pellegrin suggests that,

> Whether or not teaching is a profession is an issue of considerable importance in education. . . . Professionalization itself has seldom been subject to systematic analysis or questioned in relation to existing occupational conditions. . . . nor is there much empirical research on the extent to which teachers approximate the professional model in behavioral or attitudinal characteristics, and virtually no one has raised the issue of whether or not the professional model is a viable one for improving instruction.
>
> (1971:7)

This position is perhaps a bit extreme, but it is certainly true that the study of teaching as a professional activity has not been very illuminating up to the present. One major reason for this fuzziness in the study of teaching as a profession may be that research has tended to look only at the entire range of teacher behavior, rather than asking whether or not certain tasks of the teacher are professional ones, calling for professional work styles; while other tasks may be of a different quality, perhaps quite inappropriate to professional approaches.

Dreeben's work on professionalism in teaching is probably the most promising--despite a serious conceptual error which he makes in trying to distinguish professional from skilled craft characteristics. Dreeben argues that there is only one element of the professional role which is common to the many diverse efforts to characterize it in the literature on occupations: the eulogy! That is, he argues that the professional is a professional because, and only because, he is recognized as such by the larger society, and is thus granted the prestige and privileges of high status and respect. Though Dreeben's point about the significance of the prestige factor in professional activities is well made, it seems to me that he has somewhat narrowly read the literature. Gallas and Smith (1973:1-7), for example, have set out seven approaches to the identification of professional characteristics, and Pellegrin (1971:8-12) develops an additional list of criteria of a profession, in which there is more agreement than is accounted for in Dreeben's description of the prestige factor. Though a

narrow reading of these professional criteria can lead to the conclusion that there is extensive contradiction, they do all contain an element of definition which characterizes the professional's approach to his work. According to these analysts, a professional must have, in addition to recognition, an approach to his work which embodies: "affective neutrality," "a highly developed sense of ethics," "strong self-discipline," "a service motive," or some other attribute which indicates that a professional will be experienced by his clients as a bearer of some quality of "the good life" (in either a physical or symbolic meaning of that phrase). That is, the professional is experienced not for-himself or in himself, nor is he experienced merely as an agent or representative of some higher authorities, nor is he experienced as merely a technician who manipulates variables to achieve results--the professional is experienced as knowing and transcending the established culture in such a way as to be capable of bringing the fruits of that culture to his clients. In the everyday world of laymen, people deal with each other as if they were each engaged in conceiving, planning and implementing their own purposes and projects. Each person probes and tests to see whether the other is "friend or foe" and then seeks to build alliances or defenses to take account of the other person's interests and goals. With a professional, however, we expect to forego this testing and compromising adjustment process. We expect the professional to set aside his own life project and help us to shape and implement ours. The need for professionals arises in a society because individuals are constantly in danger of "losing touch" with the ongoing cultural

project, making it necessary for the society to have trusted agents who will be able to restore to participation individuals who have "dropped out" or who have not yet "made contact." The range of needed professional activity is just the range of ways in which people can become alienated and need restoration to the ongoing culture.

To describe the professional in this way is to identify professionalism in teaching with the socialization task. As a professional, the teacher's responsibility is the care and nurture of the children. The professional teacher is expected to be the bearer of the values and customs of the adult world in the classroom, and is expected to bear this adult culture with a sufficient degree of affective neutrality as to permit the children to vicariously experience the cultural norms of the larger society and not merely the personal norms of the teacher.

D. The Teacher as Skilled Craftsman: Facilitating the Instructional Task.

Instruction is a skilled craft activity. As an instructor the teacher is a manipulator of variables (psychological, social, intellectual and physical). Dreeben reminds us that,

> It is characteristic of a craftsman that he works with tangible materials and turns them into a final product whose dimensions and qualities can be ascertained and judged. . . . anyone can see what he has done if not exactly how he did it.
>
> (1970:25)

From this point on, however, Dreeben's analysis is seriously misleading. He, quite inappropriately, tries to distinguish the craftsman from the professional by the remoteness of the results of his

work from the technical activity itself. He first points out that the results of teaching, "may not appear with the conclusion of activity but ten years later (1970:26)." He then goes on to argue that,

> ....a profession's claim to both license and mandate is predicated on the capacity of its members to produce a detectable solution to a problem. If practioners have difficulty demonstrating their expertise because the available technology does not permit them to do so, then non-practioners need not acknowledge their special claims.
>
> (1970:26)

and he maintains that,

> The prestige of professionalism accrues to those occupations whose members serve the public and monopolize an esoteric expertise (and gain public respect thereby). Respect derives from competent performance, not from the prerequisites and appearances of professionalism.
>
> (1970:206)

Finally, he emphasizes that in his view,

> ....the central problem of teaching as an occupation is <u>the state of its technology</u>....
>
> (1970:206)

This line of analysis, in my view, mistakes the real distinctions between a craft and a profession, and in so doing fails to properly identify either the craft or the professional components of the teaching/learning task. Professionals are not merely craftsmen with a long delay built into the evaluation of their activities, nor can all craft skills be immediately evaluated. If Dreeben were correct it would never be possible to mount a malpractice suit against a professional, and automobiles built by craftsmen would not need two to five year warranties.

The easiest way to get a feel of the distinction between a craftsman and a professional is to examine them in their failure. The failure of the craftsman is called "incompetence," while that of a professional is called "mal-practice." The thing that distinguishes these two types of failure is the relation between the elements of judgment and technique involved. The professional is expected to have an end-in-view for his client, and to exercise his professional judgment so as to bring the client to that end. The craftsman, on the other hand, is expected to have a technique at his command and to apply this technique to the customer's problem. The surgical craftsman knows how to make the incision, cut away the damaged tissue and properly suture the wound. The professional surgeon, however, must diagnose the patient's disorder and accurately judge whether surgery is recommended in this case.

There is a deep relationship between craft and profession. The professional cannot diagnose and prescribe if there are no techniques for interpreting potential indicators of disease, no techniques for healing the disorder, or no craftsmen with the skill to utilize them. The emergence of the skilled craft techniques required for open-heart surgery broadened the demand for the exercise of professional judgment on when and where such techniques should be employed. The mere availability of a technique does not make it at all self-evident how, when, or to whom it should be applied. It is the medical <u>profession</u> which is having to debate the question of when to cut-off life support systems, just because the medical <u>craft</u> is so advanced.

Craft activities are supported and controlled by a theoretical knowledge of the factors or variables which are operative in a human situation--professional activities are directed and controlled by the values which are to be realized from the activity.

There is, no doubt, a great deal to be done to improve instructional technology, but even if it were absolutely perfected that would not turn it into a professional activity.

Spady illuminates the skilled craft aspect of the so-called "mastery learning" proposals of Bloom and Block, saying that,

> Mastery learning requires that teacher expertise be manifested in two ways. First, teachers must possess a thorough understanding of the content, logical structure, and underlying principles of the subject they wish to teach....
>
> Second.... (the teachers must have) the broad range of abilities and techniques that constitute pedagogical expertise.... These include not only.... the capacity to identify learning outcomes, develop performance criteria, organize instructional sequences, perform diagnostic evaluation, and provide timely feedback and correction, but also... resource management....
>
> (1973a:18)

Which is to say that mastery learning is essentially a skilled craft approach to the teaching task, and seeks to emphasize the instructional component of the teacher's position.

To summarize, once again, Figure D presents the development of Charters' concepts as they might be applied to schools in the analysis of the teaching/learning task, authority and positional characteristics which we have considered so far:

Figure D

Charters' Concepts		Application to Schools		
1. TASK	Custody-Control	Development	Socialization	Instruction
2. POSITION	Officer	Creative Person	Professional	Craftsman
3. AUTHORITY MODE	Legal/ Regulative	Charisma	Tradition/ custom	Expertise/ Technical
4. WORK GROUP DEPARTMENT	----	----	----	----

VI. Work-group Structure and the Teaching Tasks

We turn now to Charters' fourth basic concept in formal organization analysis: departmentation or work-group structure. Consideration of this concept is, in effect, an effort to explain how the organization is actually organized. Filley and House (1969) have identified two broad approaches to the problems of structuring work-groups in a complex organization, and have detailed some of the consequences on the nature and quality of the work performed by the organization as a result of its method of work-group structuring. The first approach is to build work-groups around product production (like the Chevrolet Division of General Motors) or client services (like each outlet of a chain store having its own general manager). This pattern brings attention onto the organization's outputs or goals, but has consequent costs in the efficiency with which any particular organizational activities or operations are performed. The second pattern identified by Filley and House is to build the work-groups around the operations or processes which are characteristic of the organization (like creating separate groups for engineers and for sales personnel). This second

pattern focuses management attention on the efficient performance of the central work activities of the organization, while reducing attention to the coordination of those activities in pursuit of organizational goals. Filley and House say that the first pattern helps to solve product or service problems which occur, while the second one tends toward the refinement of operational efficiency. The first pattern produces organizational sensitivity and the second one leads toward worker specialization and professionalization. These authors suggest that "project" and "matrix" management structures have been developed in an effort to capitalize on the advantages and avoid the drawbacks of these two earlier departmentalization approaches.

In addition to the tensions between employee skill development and servicing client needs which Filley and House examine, schools have been under two other pressures relevant to the question of work-group structuring. First, there have been sharply increased demands to structure the schools in such a way as to make them sensitive to the forces of the marketplace. Voucher plans, open enrollment plans, alternative schools proposals, and a number of other proposed structural changes have all had this goal in mind. From other quarters has come a press to secure educational change through various types of direct or fiscal intervention. This orientation toward school problems has been characteristic of both federal government and local community group efforts to change the schools. These intervention strategies focus attention on the relationship between work-group structure and the responsiveness of an organization to various sorts of pressure to change.

Each of the four basic teaching/learning tasks under consideration in this paper bears a special relationship to the work-group structure

of the school. How the school is organized into work groups will determine which of the tasks will receive the most attention and the most effective implementation. Conversely, certain work-group structures will protect the performance of a basic task from effective management, and weaken the ability of the school to perform it.

A. The Custody-control Work-group: Bureaucratic Structuring

Essential to the performance of the custody-control task is the development of regulatory or legal authority for the teacher and the creation of an official organizational position where that authority is exercised. In order for the teacher to obtain effective classroom control two things must be true: 1) the students must be a part of the school bureaucracy itself, and not just its clients or customers, and 2) at any given moment the students must know what specific regulations are operative and who is responsible for their interpretation and enforcement.

Whatever the virtues of a market strategy for educational change, it runs directly counter to the effective performance of the custody-control task, so long as that task is created by universal and compulsory education for the young. The self-contained classroom, on the other hand, is particularly well suited to the performance of this task. It focuses student attention on one particular teacher and his authoritative official position, and minimizes cross-pressures from other legal authorities. Remoteness from the daily life of the classroom on the part of the principal and other super-ordinate staff, combined with their responsibility for supportive enforcement of discipline, also contributes to this task since these activities reinforce

the teacher's legal authority and remove from the students the capacity to distinguish between teacher initiated and system initiated rules and regulations.

The custody-control task is probably most sensitive to interventionist strategies based on rule making, since it is created by legal authority originating outside the classroom. The classroom door is, no doubt, a crucial instrument for protecting the rest of the teacher's work from being over-run by the custody-control task, since it severely limits the effectiveness of intervention strategies based on the making and enforcing of regulations.

B. The Developmental Work-Group: Privacy and Personal Encounter.

The developmental task, it has been argued, is an intensely personal one which calls for the abandonment of role-structured behavior. Its performance depends on the exercise of charismatic authority, and this means that the establishment of trust and respect between teacher and child is fundamental.

In terms of the operational characteristics of this task, the work-group structure must sustain: 1) a high affect, primary group quality to the teacher-child relationship, arranged so that the child is exposed to the full range of the teacher's personal presence, and 2) the protection of the student-teacher relationship from the imposition of external demands which rob it of its needed freedom and spontaneity, an arrangement which calls for the establishment of felt privacy in which the student and teacher can establish an authentic encounter without being distracted by pressures to "perform" for others.

In contrast to the custody-control task, the market structure is probably the most effective instrument for controlling the performance of this task. An effective marketplace would insure that students would find schools personally exciting and engrossing or they would simply go out of business. The marketplace, however, would not insure quality performance on other tasks. In fact, if Filley and House are right, the marketplace would tend to reduce attention paid to operational effectiveness on any tasks requiring the skilled manipulation of variables.

Another problem associated with structuring a work-group for the intensely personal and private relationships needed for developmental task performance is the limited tolerance of our culture for the creation of these types of relationships. Only in the family and in informal, voluntary, and unorganized social relationships are the combination of intense personalism with privacy viewed as normal and proper. This sort of relationship is specifically rejected as the basis for "doing business" in our society. Hence the developmental task requires that the doctrine of in loco parentis acquire a teaching (as distinguished from an administrative or legal) meaning. The teacher must truly emerge in the child's life as a significant adult with a relationship closely parallelling that of the ideal-typical parental relationship.

C. The Professional Work-group: Clients and Colleagues

The socialization task has been identified as requiring a professional teacher; one who draws upon the customs and traditions of the established adult culture in order to bring to the student an aware-

ness of the conditions under which he can become a full participant in the adult world.

Basic to this task is a colleague work-group structure with a client relationship to students. Since the source of the teacher's socializing authority lies in the prestige accorded to his professional position by the larger society--and not just to him personally-- there needs to be a strong colleague structure for the work-group which will facilitate the discipline of inadequate performance by members of the profession who would otherwise erode the prestige of the entire professional group. Furthermore, since the teacher's authority as a professional has its source outside the school as an organization (i.e. in the established adult culture) there needs to be a substantial independence of the professional teacher from control by his administrative superiors. This calls for the further strengthening of the colleague work-group structure so that it can build the defenses necessary to resist bureaucratic control. Finally, since culture transmission requires affective neutrality, the professional teacher must treat the students as "clients" rather than as either subordinates or peers.

All this adds up to the likelihood that there will emerge within the teacher's work setting some professional roles which will resist the pressure to perform the custody-control and developmental tasks. That is probably why increased staff differentiation in schools has provided for the emergence of some professional roles (like psychologists) which come into play only when the child has run afoul of the regular school organization in some way, while classroom teaching reamins only a "semi-professional" activity.

D. The Instructional Work-group: The Guild and the Team.

The essence of the instructional task is in its technical nature. The authority required for its performance is the expertise authority embodied in a skilled craftsman. The work-group structure which best enhances the performance of this task would emphasize: 1) the development of a craft guild which takes responsibility for technological development through systematic inquiry into the variables which affect instructional outcomes, 2) the formation of a team of skilled experts who organize and coordinate the deployment of their skills on various aspects of the task, and 3) the treatment of students as raw materials, the objects of the productive process which structures their mind by "instructional" techniques.

Dreeben has extensively analyzed the weaknesses of the school in performing such skilled craft work. In schools the division of labor is parallel rather than coordinated, and thus the craft teams tend to be one-person teams with little or no specialization (secondary schools provide subject-matter specialization, but not pedagogical specialization, and they still do not link the diverse specializations into any kind of a team structure). In their guild activities, teacher groups have been much more devoted to protectionist than to innovative activities.

The skilled craf[illegible]need for students to be treated as the raw materials of a production process has lead to widespread, and I think pernicious, efforts to characterize the schooling process in categories which are characteristic of product producing corporations. The result has been an almost ruthless suppression of the student's

personality which does not respond well to being treated as an object. Not only that, but the custody-control task's need to treat the student as a subordinate to the teacher is basically at odds with the effort to conceptualize him as raw material for the instructional process. If schools are to be thought of as production organizations, it will only be possible if we treat the students as the operating personnel, the teachers as first line supervisors, and the high-school record as the principle product. If we do this, we can see that the customers for the high school records are the universities and the corporations, and not the students or their families.

While the marketplace strategy produces some pressure for competitive development of technology in a free market situation, there is significant evidence that under constrained market conditions (an inevitable situation for education) real technological developments are by-passed in favor of superficial packaging differentiations. The more likely road to instructional improvement is the creation of the interventionist expert--following the model of the agricultural extension agent.

In summary, we have now completed an exploration of Charters' four basic concepts for analysis of formal organization in relation to the teaching/learning tasks of the public school system. Figure E presents a summary of the basic terms in our analytical scheme:

Figure E.

Charters' Concepts	Application to Schools			
1. TASK	Custody/ Control	Development	Socialization	Instruction
2. POSITION	Officer	Creative Person	Professional	Skilled Craftsman
3. AUTHORITY	Legal/ Regulative	Charismatic	Traditional	Expertise/ Technical
4. WORK GROUP/ Department	Bureaucracy	Personal Encounter	Client/ Colleague	Guild/ Team

Much of what has been said so far seems to place the teacher in a most untenable position. It would appear from this analysis that a teacher must simultaneously operate in quite contradictory ways and relate to students and others in ways which are incompatible with each other. I have intentionally avoided trying to resolve these problems until a richer and more complete picture of the nature of the work in the organization of the school can be developed. We cannot solve organizational problems if we refuse to create a theoretical model which at least recognizes them.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to taking two steps toward the development of a more integrated model of the teaching task. First, I will argue that the principles of phenomenological analysis provide the basic insights necessary for integrating the work of the teaching/learning process into a conceptual unity. Second, an examination of the fundamental characteristics of this integrated conceptual unity will enable us to see the dynamic character of the teaching task and to specify something of when, how, and why a teacher

moves from one task to another in order to give balance to the teaching/learning process.

VII. Toward a Phenomenology of Teaching/Learning.

There are two principles of human action which have been convincingly demonstrated by the phenomenological philosophers (e.g. M. Merleau-Ponty, A. Schutz, and G. Winter), which can, I believe, become the basis for an integrated and genuinely new theory of the work of teaching.

1. The first principle concerns an actor's orientation toward the field of his actions. The phenomenologists have demonstrated that there is a dynamic tension between the process of human perception and the capacity for human intentionality. This tension operates so that neither perception nor intention is possible without the other, and each is fundamentally conditioned by the other. Therefore, an actor is oriented toward his action field by his intentions which are embodied in projects that he conceives, plans and implements, and also by his perceptions which are organized and summarized in his definition of the situation which confronts him.

2. The second principle concerns the aim of the actor's actions. The phenomenologists have explored the dynamic tension which exists between a person's consciousness of the "lived-moment" of his direct experience, and the meanings which that experience acquires as he reflects upon it. This tension arises because action is taken only in a "lived-moment," while thought about that action takes place only in a reflective moment. In the reflective moment, actions are experienced as meaningful and as intentional because they both

respond to the given-ness of meanings derived from past experience, and they respond to the possibilities which inhere in imagined futures. The aim then of an action can emphasize either accommodation to the given conditions, or the fulfillment of open possibilities that are imagined.

In any particular action both of these principles are operative, thus we can develop an analytic frame for interpreting an action system by asking whether the actor is oriented to the world of his action primarily in terms of projected intentions or in terms of situational definitions, and by also asking whether his action is aimed at responding to constraining conditions or at realizing open possibilities. Figure F. presents these two analytic principles interacting to create the four cells of a two-by-two table of possible combinations.

Figure F.

		Aim of Action: Responding to Conditions	Aim of Action: Fulfilling Possibilities
Orientation to World	Projecting Intentions	1. Established Projects in Progress	2. New Purposes Being Projected
	Defining Situations	3. Constraints in the Situational Def.	4. Flexibility/Variability in the Perceived Situation

Each cell in Figure F. represents a different combination of the two analytical principles:

Cell 1: -Established Projects in Progress

Represents the constraining power of purposefulness or intentionality in human action. Once a person has clear purposes the segment of his behavior which is aimed at the fulfillment of those purposes will be constrained and conditioned by them. Hence we can think of Cell 1, as embracing those actions which result from the fact that each person is constantly caught up in various projects which are well established and in the progress of being fulfilled or frustrated.

Cell 2: - New Purposes Being Projected

Represents the motive power of emergent purposes in human action. To the extent that human action is free, it is so because purposes continue to be re-constituted as a result of new experience. Some human actions are motivated by the pure possibilities which lie in front of the actor. These actions know neither the force of necessity nor the anxiety of mere uncertainty. Playfulness is the most general quality of such actions, but the ideas of creativity, experimentation, exploration, and development also point toward this possibility of spontaneous action.

Cell 3: - Constraints in the Situational Definition

Represents the brute force of situational conditions which confront us. There is a substantial body of literature on the importance of "Defining the Situation" in shaping human action. The definition of the situation provides both constraint and possibility for action. Constraint results from the fact that any situation is seen as being ordered in a particular way and will only permit certain kinds of response. Many actions are motivated by the sense that there just isn't anything else we could do in this situation. Conditioning psychologies see this

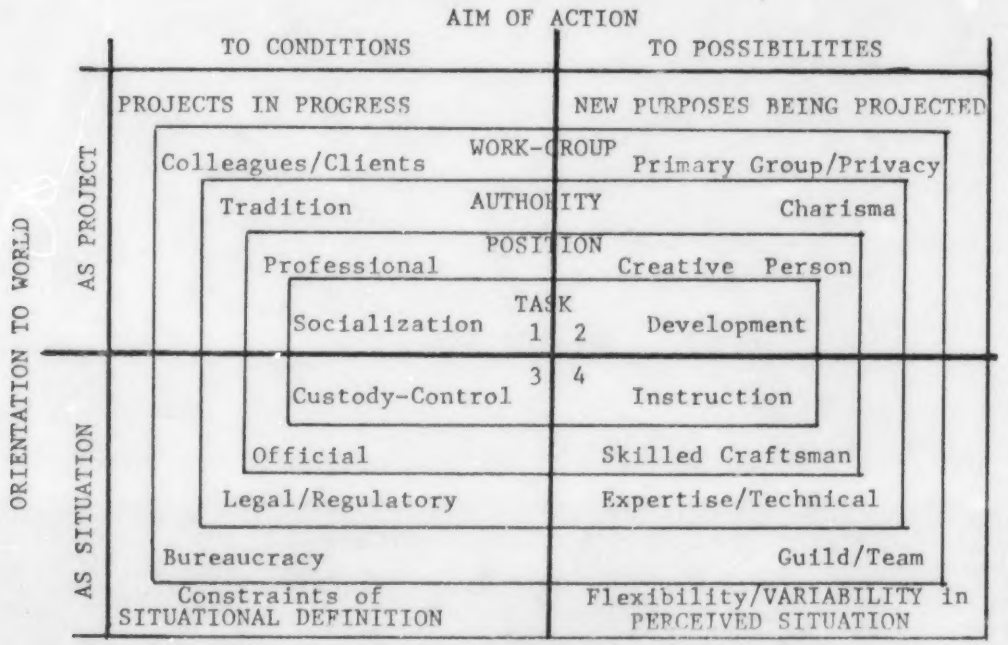
as a matter of the lawfulness of human bio-chemistry rather than as a matter of human consciousness resulting from some active definition of the situation; as a result these conditioning theorists tend to see all action in this cell.

Cell 4: - Flexibility/Variability in the Perceived Situation

Represents the human ability to see a situation as resulting from the interaction of various factors. When we perceive that there are certain factors or variables in a situation we also perceive that there are possibilities for changing that situation. Our actions can then be aimed at producing a new relationship among the factors and thus at yielding a new situation.

If the phenomenological analytical principles are as provocative as I think they are, it will already be apparent that the concepts of task, position, authority, and workgroup developed in previous sections can be seen as expressing the various cells in Figure F. Figure G presents the concepts of teacher task, etc., arranged according to their embodiment of the phenomenological principles:

Figure G.



There are two insights to be derived from an examination of Figure G. First, it helps us to recognize the overall integrity of the teaching tasks. The school as a system of human action is revealed to be nothing less than a re-construction of the entire range of human actions, and the integrity of the teacher's job is to be found in the way he takes responsibility for providing for this range of action through the exercise of the various modes of authority, occupation of the various qualities of position, and the organization of his work in the various work-group structures described in the earlier sections of this paper. The school is not an "organization" in the usual meaning of that term, the school is of necessity a "real life" situation for its members.

The second insight suggested by Figure G. is that other concepts which cut across the interactions among the phenomenological principles might make the analysis of the work in the school organization more effective. Let me devote a few paragraphs to two of such concepts which seem particularly powerful in this regard: the notion of embodiment, and that of quality-of-consciousness.

By "embodiment" I mean to point to the fact that there are characteristic human experiences which form the cultural basis for the kinds of action found in each of the four cells of our model.

1. Ritual and Myth: the embodiment of projects-in-progress, embodiment of the professional teacher's traditional authority, and the primary vehicle for socialization.

Ritual and myth are among modern sociology's most abused concepts. They tend to be used as epithets of rejection rather than as descriptions of social reality. Without pursuing the matter in

detail here, I would suggest that it is precisely the mythic and ritual elements of a culture which make it powerful and give it felt reality to its participants. Socialization is, at base, a matter of people learning to genuinely participate in those rituals and myths which make a culture what it is. The naturalization of a citizen, or the adoption of a child is fully accomplished when, and only when, the new-comer lives his life by the meanings embodied in the rituals of the established nation or family.

2. Authentic Presence: The embodiment of new purposes being projected, the embodiment of charismatic authority, and the dynamic force for personal encounter and development.

There is a substantial literature on the meaning of "Presence" in both religion and psychology. Presence means being with and not just along side the other person; it means experiencing the other person as in himself and not merely for himself. It is authentic presence which is encountered in the charismatic person, and it is the apprehension of his authentic presence which draws the follower out of himself and toward new possibilities.

3. Constitution: The embodiment of situational definitions, the embodiment of the legal authority, and the basis of custodial responsibility.

There is both a natural and a legal meaning to the word "constitution" and it is in the merger of these two meanings that the essence of the phenomenology of situational definitions is to be found. Legitimate legal authority is established in a society's constitution, but societies do not merely have constitutions, they are constituted in order to establish the legitimate purposes for which legal authority is to be vested in officials of the society. That is, constitutions do not

merely specify the system of rights and obligations which will characterize the social order, they also embody the essential purposes for which governance structures are established.

4. Theoretical Knowledge: The embodiment of situational flexibility/variability, the embodiment of the expert's authority, and the basis for the performance of skilled craft activities.

The role of theoretical knowledge in human action is to embody our awareness of the manipulable variables in the human situation. This embodiment gives expertise its authority, and directs the efforts of the craftsman when he starts his work.

A second concept which cuts across the four cells of Figure G. and which provides a powerful insight into the meaning of the analytic model proposed here is one which I have called "quality-of-consciousness." This term points to the fact that there are <u>feelings</u> associated with the experiences typical of each quadrant of the model, and that understanding the quality of these feelings can tell us a great deal about how and why the actions associated with each task come to be important to teachers and children in the schools. The quality of consciousness associated with each of the four basic tasks has two dimensions: first, there is the <u>content</u> dimension which tells us what the feelings associated with each task are "about," and second, there is the <u>valence</u> of the feelings which refers to whether the feelings are positive or negative, good or bad, attractive or repulsive, warm or cold, enhancing to self or diminishing of self, etc.

1. Giveness: The experience of established projects. A sense of the "giveness" of things is associated with the established social order. Whether the established order is a national culture, a

family, or an organization like a school, whenever someone enters the established action system he is confronted immediately with the realization that something is already going on and that he must learn what the givens of that established action system are if he is to participate meaningfully in it. If the giveness is positively experienced it gives rise to a sense of security and participation. If it is negatively experienced the given social projects give rise to feelings of alienation and isolation from important meanings.

2. Openness: the experience of possible new projects.

When new life-projects are experienced as possible, there is a sense of openness to the fabric of experience which arises within the self. In a positive setting this feeling of openness is experienced as a sense of promise for the future possibilities; if it is experienced negatively, this sense of openness leads to feelings of aimlessness and anomie.

3. Orderedness: the experience of situational constraints.

When action is oriented toward the world as a definite situation with fixed conditions which must be responded to, a sense of orderedness arises in the self. The experience of orderedness, if positive, gives rise to feelings of dependability, clarity and closure; if negatively experienced, the feelings of domination, threat, and de-humanization predominate.

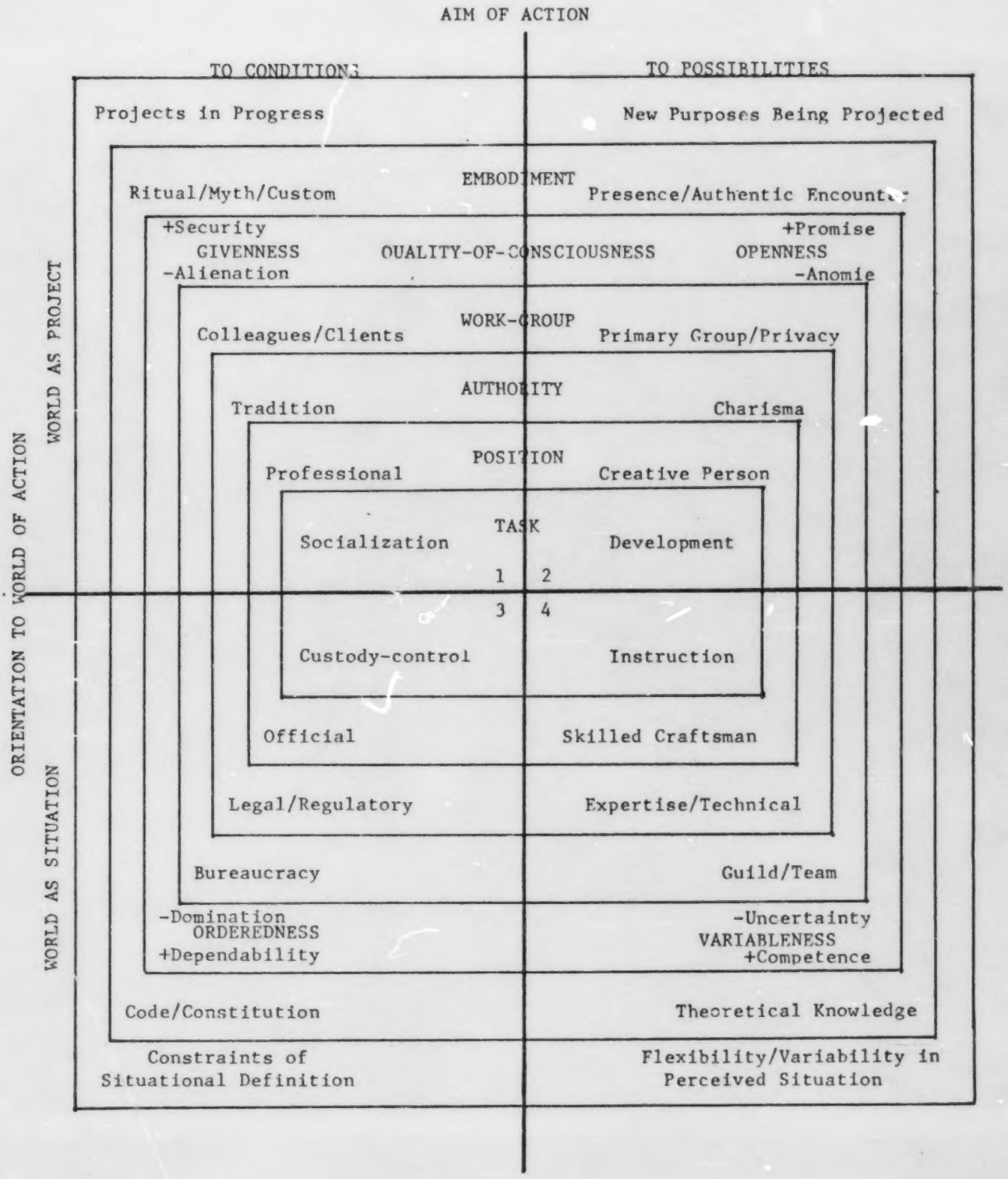
4. Variability: the experience of situational possibilities.

When the world is encountered as a matrix of variables which are systematically interconnected -- that is, as a situation with technical flexibility--it is experienced as having variability. If variability

is experienced positively it leads to feelings of competence, capability, or opportunity. If, on the other hand, variability is experienced negatively, it gives rise to feelings of uncertainty, inability, and failure.

Figure H. presents the dimensions of embodiment and quality of consciousness in the same graphic form as the concepts discussed earlier in this paper. This figure represents the completion of what I am here proposing as a basic analytic framework for the analysis of the phenomona of teaching/learning as they occur in the public schools.

Figure H
THEORETICAL MODEL SUMMARY
(Same as Figure A)



VIII. The Dynamic Characteristics of the Phenomenological Model of Teaching/Learning Actions.

There is a natural dynamic in the movement of actions among the four quadrants of Figure H. This dynamic can be followed at either an individual or an organizational level. At the individual level the dynamic is simpler and more direct, because the individual can, by his own actions, alter the entire course of his actions; while the organization is more sluggish and does not respond to the alterations of action orientation within a single individual.

A. The individual action dynamic:

The dynamic sequence could be picked up at any point, but the child starts when he arrives at the public school. One morning in September the child finds himself in a room with a crowd of other children and one or more adults. This is a <u>situation</u>, and his first task is to define it and locate the constraints which are present in it. Having been conscripted into this situation, the child may have little sense of why he is there or how he came to be there. Very soon, however, he begins to experience the constraints of the situation, to build a definition of what school is and what is required of him there. (He is located in the lower left quadrant of Figure H.)

Very quickly however he asserts that his life is <u>doing</u> things, not just existing somewhere, therefore he searches for the freedom and openness of the situation, and begins to project his own intentions. (That is, he moves his attention toward the upper right hand quadrant and establishes the tension-of-existence needed for intentional action.)

Shortly his actions move from the exploration of possibilities to the formation of reasonably clear conceptualizations of what projects he intends to implement in this classroom, and then his actions begin to be constrained by the characteristics of the projects in progress (i. e., the upper left hand quadrant of Figure H.) as he gives up spontaneity and moves to concentrate on project fulfillment.

But the completion of any project requires a clear grasp of the operative variables in the classroom situation, so attention moves from the constraints imposed by the projecting of his intentions to the variability or flexibility of the situation (i. e., to the lower right hand quadrant of the model in Figure H).

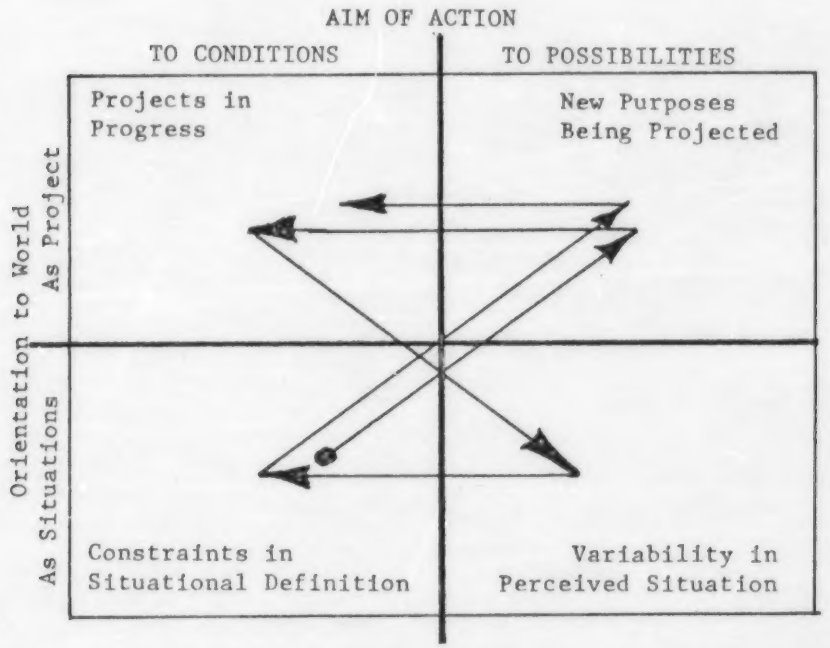
Of course, as the child tries to manipulate the variables in the situation to produce the desired outcomes he quickly discovers that there are constraints in the situation which he had not anticipated (and some which he anticipated are not realized), and thus he must change his actions to accommodate the new constraints (i. e. his attention shifts back to the lower left quadrant from which he began).

And, as he perceives afresh the constraints and inflexibilities of the situation of the classroom he is led to re-cast his intentions, to pose again the question of just what he intends, what projects he wishes to fulfill in this situation (i. e., recreate the tension between the lower left and upper right quadrants). So the process continues.

Figure I. presents the sequence of these dynamics in terms of the phenomenological principles outlined in this paper.

Figure I.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF ACTION



At the organizational level this same dynamic is operative, but its expression is complicated by the fact that organizations, insofar as they are organizations, are actualities and not merely possibilities. Hence, the real life of an organization can never leave the left hand column of the model. While individuals can project their intentions in terms of the possibilities which are open, an organization only comes into existence when some of these possibilities are selected and energies are mobilized into the process of fulfilling the projects which are in progress. And, while there are always variables at work in a situation, organizations exist by the way in which they reduce variability and impose organizational constraints on the operation of otherwise uncontrolled variables. To call an action system

an organization is to say that there is a "reduction in the uncertainty" of how various variables will be encountered in any situation. The power of an organization could, in fact, be measured in terms of its ability to impose constraints on the operation of situational variables.

The school as an organization begins both historically and logically in the state legislatures where it is constituted, meaning both given its organizational structure and given the basic legal code which controls the behavior of people who are to be considered as within the organization. This constituting legal code, together with the school boards who develop and adapt it to local situations, comes first to bear on the administrative organization of the school. Administrators then hire the teachers, conscript the students, and define the teaching situation as one requiring custody-control of the students and the socialization, instructional, and developmental outcomes which constitute the school as a project. That is to say, the school begins in the lower left quadrant as a situation which is defined and a set of constraints on behavior which must be responded to.

The teacher comes into this situation and struggles to develop an openness within it without destroying the needed orderliness. (i. e., directs some attention to the upper right quadrant of the model.) If he is successful in establishing this openness, the projected intentions of the students rush in to capitalize on this freedom and shape the action system. The teacher, as a member of the organization, is pulled in a different direction, however. He is pulled toward the professional socialization role of the upper left quadrant--identifying

for the students what the "proper uses" of their freedom are if they are to become successful in the adult culture. And the teachers form a strong colleague group whose task it is to identify and codify the essential elements of the adult world which will form the template against which classroom behavior will be measured.

Some of the teachers, together with people like the university based researchers, become interested in the variables involved in socializing students and in the techniques for manipulating these variables. They start to build curricula which will capitalize on the variability of the school situation in order to produce instructional results in the students (i.e., they direct attention to the lower right quadrant). This interest in the instructional variables, however, presents itself as preparation, training, or criticism of teaching, not as an act of teaching itself. Hence the schools are not organizationally interested in the analysis of these variables, they must organizationally assume that the relevant variables are known and that the manipulation of these variables can be assigned to the proper people in the organization. As a result, whenever a breakthrough in the analysis of the situational variables is experienced it is felt as a criticism by the organizers of the school -- the school administrators. (That is, work in the lower right quadrant always leads to pressure for change on the school by enhancing the significance of the administrators who are the dominant actors in the lower left quadrant.)

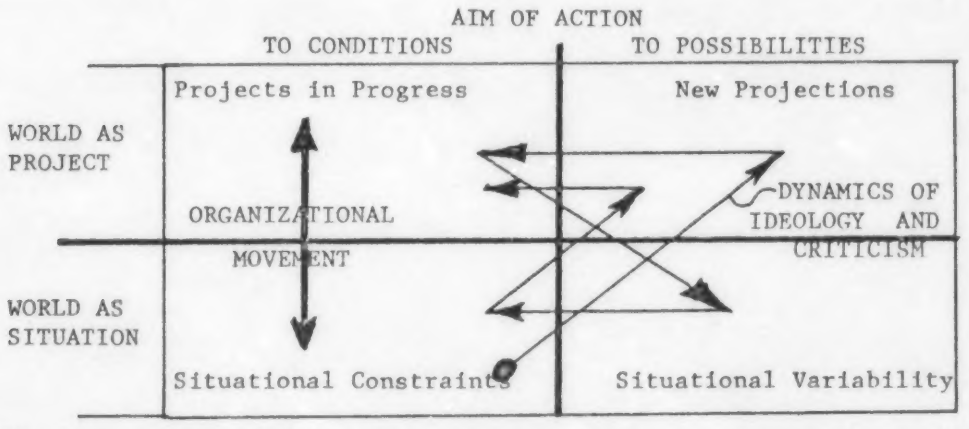
The administrators take something of the criticism from the researchers and seek to impose "innovative" programs on the teachers and demand that teachers be more efficient in their production of instructional and socialization outcomes.

Teachers, in trying to respond to the demands for curriculum reform, squeeze the freedom and openness out of their classroom environments and cause the students to experience the classroom as domination and imprisonment. Liberal reformers and others sensitive to the students' developmental needs attack the organizational leadership of the school and try to produce an "open education" (the contemporary form) or a "progressive" education (an earlier term).

Instead of real openness, however, these reformers succeed only in freeing the schools from the bureaucratic officials represented in the line administrators and giving it more effectively into the hands of the professional socializers represented in the curriculum staff and professional educator groups. These people are in turn criticized for technical incompetence and their control is weakened by a renewed strengthening of administrator's efforts to control curriculum implementation.

Graphically this organization dynamic process looks like Figure J:

Figure J.



The two patterns in this figure present both organization dynamics and the ideological dynamics of criticism,

in which the actual organization continues to exist on the left side of the model, while school critics are alternately found in the upper right quadrant (calling for openness and development) and in the lower right quadrant (calling for competence and technical efficiency).

IX. Some Implications for Research.

There are two approaches to research based on a theoretical model which is as fully developed as the one presented in this paper. First, there is a need for clarification and verfication research which connects the abstract language of the model presented here to concrete experiences in schools. A second research effort could be directed at the many possible implications of this model for policy-making and administration within the public schools. Space limitations will permit only the most cryptic treatment of six possible research studies based on this model.

A. Concept Clarification and Hypothesis Verfication Studies.

Study #1: Field Study of Teacher Language Usage in Relation to Task Performance.

The first need is to discover how teachers describe for themselves the elements of task, position, etc., related to this model. A pilot study on this is already under way. The approach being taken is to tape record depth interviews with teachers and content analyze their responses to five questions which seem to elicit the needed teacher perceptions:

1. How do you motivate the kids?
2. What approach do you use in your teaching?

3. What can you do to create the right kind of classroom environment?

4. How do you deal with students who have a tendency to be persistent discipline problems?

5. What sorts of new ideas do you get and where do they come from?

The language elicited from these questions will make it possible to interpret the teachers' perception of task in terms of the conceptual categories of the theoretical model presented here.

Study #2: Conceptual Hypothesis Testing and Model Verification

If the model sketched out in this paper is a reasonably good reflection of the realities of the school, there should be a number of ways of producing hypothesis testing verificational procedures. One such study would use a Q-sort technique to present school people with the natural language (derived from study #1) form of the 28 key concepts in the model. By asking each subject to sort the Q-cards into four clusters around task structure and performance a test of the meaningfulness of the four quadrant structure of the model can be made.

Further, if the S's are presented with descriptions of the four basic tasks of the teacher, and asked to then pick from the Q-sort cards those concepts relevant to the performance of each basic task, we should be able to test whether there is a statistical relationship between the concepts of the model and the processes of the teaching/learning task performance in schools.

Study #3: Longitudinal Studies of Model Dynamics.

If the process dynamics outlined in Section VIII are appropriate, they should form an interpretive framework for the study of both

micro-educational and macro-educational history. Longitudinal studies of the history of education on the one hand and the behavior of students and/or teachers on the other should fall in line with the dynamics of the model presented in that section.

In particular, the ebb and flow of influence exerted by four key groups: line administrators, liberal reformers, curriculum staff professionals, and university-based researchers should be characterized by their success in defining as central the custody-control, developmental, socialization, and instructional tasks, respectively.

B. Research on Policy-Making and Administrative Implications

Study #4: Embodiment Studies

In a working document generated by the National Institute of Education's abortive Task Force on Governance, the study of constitutionalism was proposed as a potentially integrative concept for relating problems of governance and accountability to the issues of authority and legitimacy. Such a study does indeed appear promising from the perspective of this model. So also do studies of the three other embodiment concepts: Myth/ritual, Presence/encounter, and Theoretical knowledge.

Study #5: Curriculum Strategy Studies

The model presented suggests that there should be four different approaches to curriculum development at work in the educational system, one emphasizing the performance of each of the basic tasks. An initial perusal of the popular strategies suggests the follow-

ing categorization:

1. Custody-control is emphasized by the Behavior Modification approach.

2. Development is emphasized by the Open Education Approach.

3. Socialization is emphasized by the Values Clarification, Affective Domain, Confluent Education Approaches.

4. Instruction is emphasized by the Mastery Learning, Criterion Reference Testing, Performance Objectives approaches.

A detailed analysis of these curriculum development strategies would lead to an understanding of the consequences of curriculum strategy choices.

Study #6: Incentive Structure Studies

Analysis of teacher satisfaction/dissatisfaction has made it evident that teacher incentives are complex, and that the development of an incentive structure must take account of a number of school variables.

The model developed here offers two initial lines of thought on the matter of teacher incentives. First, the model calls attention to the question of teacher orientations and action aims. The way a teacher defines his own life-projects and the school situation will be of fundamental significance to the operation of any incentive structure. Olmsted, Blackington, and Houston (1974) have described seven stances which teachers take toward teaching tasks. These stances will almost certainly alter in significant ways the operation of the incentive structure of the school.

The "quality of consciousness" concept developed in Section VII provides a second approach to the problem of incentives. The incentive rather than the negative aspects of the four qualities-of-consciousness (i.e. orderedness, openness, givenness and variableness) are characteristically experienced in the school. A major study of the mechanisms and indicators of teacher behavior in relation to both the orientation/aim concept and the quality-of-consciousness concept could be of significant help in the organization and control of teacher behavior in schools.

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